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AN ALLEGORY.

It was about the year 1775, that a young Anglo-American absorbed the attention of our Colonies, and drew upon himself the eyes of the whole world. His noble bearing and almost super-human beauty inspired universal respect and admiration. All were eager to learn the facts of his birth and training; and as somebody generally gets a clue to what everybody wishes to know, public curiosity was soon partially satisfied. Rumour said that the child was first seen in the arms of General Washington. Nobody asked how it came there, but it was understood that it was confided to him by its father, who shewed his tender love by selecting for it a guardian of such remarkable wisdom and integrity. The General became much attached to the child, watching over it by day and night, and soon found ample reward for his devoted affection in the beauty, intelligence, and bravery of his young charge. The boy became gradually inured to hardships and dangers, and delighted in perilous adventures. He loved to roam through pathless forests, free as the wild deer; to climb lofty mountains, or to gaze from some cliff over the boundless expanse of the ocean. He discovered, as by instinct, every natural fastness, in secret glen or rocky cavern. In one of his mountain rambles he succeeded in capturing a young American eagle. From that time he spared no pains in taming the bird, which soon accompanied him wherever he went, hovering near him, or perching on his shoulder, as he moved or rested. Indeed, the bird responded to the boy's various

moods with almost human sympathy. When they roamed the mountains together, the eagle would fly from peak to peak, and wait for the youth to follow him. Sometimes he soared far out of sight, hoping to lure the boy upward; but all in vain: the child was well content to remain on the earth, for he dearly loved his native soil. Gradually he ripened into early manhood. As bodily exercises had perfected his magnificent, manly beauty, so the highest and most generous culture had developed the qualities of his noble soul. Through the ample page of history, the spirit of the Grecian and Roman heroes, of the Christian martyrs, and of the patriots of all time, had entered into him, and filled him with their inspiration. No wonder that he jealously watched the hand of oppression, as it grasped at the liberties of his country. He was the first to rouse a spirit of resistance in the hearts of the people. He quickened the courage of Otis, and Quincy, and Adams, and Hancock. And when, at last, the Colonies, exasperated beyond endurance, closed in a bloody struggle with the mother country, he was found in the heart of the conflict, exhorting, encouraging, and inspiring all who looked upon him. In the camp and the field, he was seen side by side with Washington, and Marion, and Greene, and Putnam, and a host of brave men. Truly he seemed omnipresent. Wherever a noble heart fainted by the wayside, he whispered hope and courage. He wiped the death-damp from the soldier's brow, and received his last smile and blessing. Was there a perilous night march to surprise the enemy, or a

Thermopylæ pass to be defended, he led the way, and bore the brunt of the attack. But, strange to say, no sword pierced, no gunshot grazed, no arrow reached his invulnerable form. From every conflict he came forth stronger and more invincible. Words cannot picture the glory of his imperial brow. Those who saw it oftenest declared that, through its white splendours, a star was plainly visible, that grew bright or pale as good or ill fortune befell his country. But all acknowledged, that when he sat gazing into the far future with those glorious eyes of his, while the eagle rested by his side, not Jove himself shewed a more godlike presence. In the remotest corners of Europe, in countries bowed down under heavy tyrannies, his image was cherished by serfs and peasants, like that of a tutelar saint, or guardian genius. But if he was brave in the field, he was also wise in council. There was no national assembly in which he did not preside, and no measure of vital importance which he did not originate. John Adams, and Patrick Henry, and honest Roger Sherman, and all the true patriots, were his bosom friends, and Washington loved him with more than a father's affection.

But at last, the weary struggle with the mother country ended, and the battle won, the young nation wiped and sheathed its reeking sword. Now came the task to consolidate the rights, so hardly gained, into permanent institutions, to be transmitted as a glorious heritage to posterity. The hands which had been knit so firmly together against the common enemy, were now unclasped, and needed to be once more peacefully joined in the enduring bonds of a family union. Again and again the fathers met to form a national compact, and as often were their efforts foiled. The noble youth, their chosen king, sat upon his throne, with the eagle by his side. But another presence, conjured from the realms of darkness, cowered in their midst. No unaccustomed eye could view it without dread and unutterable loathing. It had the head and hands of a human being, and the body of a beast. Brought in an evil hour from a foreign shore, with crew of the unhappy victims destined for its prey, it has roamed the land far and wide. With more than human intelligence, it had known how, by wily words, to insinuate itself into the favour of the colonists. It promised to make of its unhappy companions beasts of burden. Willingly it scourged and tortured them into submission, and joyfully it feasted on their living flesh. By degrees, the colonists began to tolerate its presence, and listen to its counsels; and, finally, some of them preferred its cunning speech to the words of ancient wisdom. At last, when the great

days came, that were to decide the future destiny of the nation, they brought the monster into the council, and resolved to adopt no form of government which did not meet his approbation. The spell of the enchanter wrought not only upon the souls of the patriots, but upon that of the king himself. In consenting to parley for a moment with the monster, he lost the sceptre of royalty and the glory of manhood. The star faded from his brow, and its memory from the hearts of his people. The crafty eloquence of the beast confused their understandings and darkened their reason. They dimly recalled words which had formerly armed them with heroic valour; but when they repeated them, the monster echoed them with derisive shouts of laughter, so that, gradually, they ceased to utter them, or, what was worse, used them to cover a hypocritical intent. So faith and loyalty died out of their hearts. They turned from the throne, and fell down at the feet of the monster, and took counsel from him alone. From being a guest barely tolerated in their national council, the beast came to rule the whole country. There was no corner which his eye did not penetrate, or his hand reach. North, south, east, and west, the sons of the old patriots bowed at his shrine. At first, they bent their necks only, but at last, they crept like reptiles at his feet. He knew how to feed them with dainty fare, to each after his kind. The fattest morsel he gave to those who bent in humblest submission. But a chosen few in the land had learned a counter-spell against the monster's charm. They alone dared to stand erect, and defy his utmost malice. These, wherever he could lay hands upon them, he scourged, and lashed, and tortured, and starved: but they came out from every trial with an unbroken spirit. When they looked the beast fearlessly in the face, he shrunk cowering from their gaze; for, with his brazen front, he bore a cowardly heart. A few of these brave spirits found their way into the council of the nation. While the reptiles crawled under the feet of the monster, they boldly looked him in the face, with their 'ÀPAGE, SATANAS!' They dared to speak the ancient language of the country, long since disused, and their powerful words resounded from the mountains to the sea. They bore in their hearts the image of the king, when he reigned in his glory, and they saw with bitter grief, in his manly form, the signs of approaching dissolution. At length his death-knell rang with the hour which ended the last half century. Reverently they placed his remains in the tomb of him whom he had loved so well in life, his early friend and foster father. No stone commemorates his birth or death, but the true hearts of all nations will preserve the record on tablets

more enduring than those of stone. Thither will they make their melancholy pilgrimage, and, like Kossuth, bring to the grave of Freedom the only fitting tribute of agony and tears. * * * * *

Now the monster king rules the land. The Brazen Age is revived. Justice and Truth have fled, and Expediency and Hypocrisy have taken their place. But the true and the faithful, nothing daunted, already see the flaming sword of the avenging angel, and hear the thunder of his mighty wings. At midnight, when the monster and his crew are rioting in insane revelry, he will appear in their midst, and drive them into outer darkness. They shall call upon the mountains to cover them, and the sea to swallow them up. But the mountains and the sea will cast them back with scorn. With their tears and blood must they expiate the wrongs they have so shamelessly inflicted. Fire and sword shall desolate the land, till the last vestige of their hateful existence shall be swept from the earth. Then shall the light of a new morning dawn upon the land. The *genius of American freedom* shall rise again in pristine youth and beauty. The eagle shall joyfully wing his way back from the mountains at his call. In union with *Justice*, the king shall reign over his people, while from their happy nuptials shall spring a long line of beneficent laws, to bless the land. Once more shall America be a refuge for the oppressed, and a terror to the oppressor. Thus will she take her rightful place among the powers of the earth, and achieve the destiny assigned her by the Ruler of nations.

NOTE.—Poetic justice requires a tragic fate for the monster and his worshippers. Of the final extinction of Slavery, no one who believes in a God of justice can entertain a doubt; but the time and the manner of that consummation, it is impossible to foretell. The duty of the present day lies plain before us; the future rests with a higher Power.

Concord, Mass.

A. M. W.
(*Liberator*. 31st March.)

DR. WAYLAND ON THE NEBRASKA BILL.

At a meeting, held on the 7th of March last, at Providence, Massachusetts, to protest against the Nebraska Bill, a great speech was delivered by the Rev. F. Wayland (a Baptist minister, and President of Brown University), than which, as is justly remarked by the *National Era* of the 6th of April, "no such specimen of compacted, weighty, powerful argument, has been printed since the days of Daniel Webster."

This journal, commenting on the speech, observes:

"This is language which shews the force and strength of the civil insurrection now raging at the North. Dr. Nat. Taylor, too, at New Haven, Professor of Theology, said 'he was ready to take off his black coat and shoulder his musket in the cause of liberty;' and Professor Silliman, another veteran Professor, says 'he is willing to follow the example of my friend and neighbour, Dr. Taylor.' This is the tone of New England's greatest and most gifted minds. This is the language of freemen, who have gone to the very verge of all they dare do, for the shielding of slavery beneath the Flag of Freedom, and the Constitution of the United States."

The speech appears to have been originally published in the *Recorder*, under the immediate revisal of Dr. Wayland, and to have been thence transferred to the columns of the *National Era*. We quite concur in the Editor's remarks on its importance, and shall be glad to see it reproduced in other anti-slavery periodicals. We subjoin this admirable discourse:

"Mr. President: I am not surprised to see so large a number of the citizens of Rhode Island assembled on the present occasion. On this spot was formed the first Government on earth which proclaimed both civil and religious liberty to be the birthright of man. It is meet that on this soil and in this city a measure which proposes to violate the most sacred rights of humanity should receive its merited condemnation.

"Before I proceed to consider this Bill, I think it proper to say, that while I shall speak with entire plainness on the merits of the question, I shall avoid all denunciation of individuals. It is my good fortune to know and to esteem many of my fellow-citizens at the South, whom I believe incapable of performing an action which they see to be dishonourable or mean. I will go farther, and say that I have never conversed with an intelligent and right-minded slaveholder who did not confess slavery to be wrong, utterly indefensible in itself, and the great curse that rests upon the Southern States. They have looked upon the subject in sad despair, hoping that a kind Providence would open for them some way of escape from an evil which was every year becoming more and more threatening. Such men—and they form a large portion of the best men at the South—will, I know, honour us for opposing this Bill, and will in their hearts rejoice if our opposition be successful.

"We have met to protest against the Bill now before Congress for establishing the Territorial Governments of Nebraska and Kansas. The feature in this Bill against which we first protest is, that in all that vast territory, now uninhabited by white men, either free or slave States may be organized, at the will of the settlers. On the face of it, then, it places slavery and freedom on equal terms, and proclaims that freedom and oppression are looked upon with equal favour by the people of the

United States. It is, I know, said that it is intended to have no practical effect, for that slavery will never be introduced there. This I presume, however, that no one expects us to believe. To suppose the universal agitation of this subject to be revived—an agitation so much to be deprecated by the South—and the reproach of violated faith to be endured, without an assignable object, is to suppose men to act without motive; that is, to be either idiotic or insane. We will not accuse reasonable men of this absurdity. I therefore consider this as a Bill to establish Slavery throughout all this vast region.

"Now, against this Bill I protest, in the first place, because it proposes to violate the great elementary law on which not only government, but society itself, is founded.

"If there be any moral or social principle more obvious or more universal than another, it is this—that *every man has a right to himself*. He possesses this right as a man, because he is a man, in virtue simply of his humanity. This right includes his right to his body and his mind, to his material and his spiritual nature. It is the foundation of all responsibility; for the moment I cease to have a right to myself, that moment I also cease to be responsible for my actions, either to God or to man. It is this right which distinguishes me from a brute. Brutes are endowed with no such right, and we may lawfully enslave them, slaughter them, and feed on them. Governments are established and laws are enacted, not to confer this right—it existed before them—but to prevent its violation. It is the sole foundation of the right of property; for if I have a right to myself, I have a right to the product of my own energies, provided those energies are innocently directed—that is, not in interference with this right in another.

"But assume the opposite, and what is the result? Suppose a man not to have a right to himself, and what is the consequence? Government is impossible. Every man becomes the prey of every other man. Right personal and right in property are annihilated by a single blow. Turks may oppress Greeks, Russians may trample on Turks, Austrians may deluge Italy or Hungary in blood, and no right is violated. Nay, more: you, Sir, may enslave me, or I may enslave you; the white man may enslave the black man, and the black man may in turn enslave and murder the white man, and all are innocent of crime. The rising of the slaves universally would thus be justified, and all cause for our aiding to subdue insurrection would be taken away. But it is needless to pursue a doctrine so monstrous. Slavery is a sin against God, and an outrage on humanity. It deprives a man not of one or another right, but it violates that fundamental law of humanity on which all right rests. I would protest against this iniquity anywhere, in the name of humanity, and justice, and universal love; I protest against it, here at home specially, when this outrage is to be perpetrated on soil of which I and every other American citizen are the sole and rightful possessors.

"But secondly, as an American citizen I protest against this Bill. Our Government owes

its existence to the assertion of the principle to which I have just alluded—that every man has a right to himself. The Declaration of Independence, that bill of rights which made us a nation, affirms, first of all, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It was for this principle that our fathers contended in that prolonged struggle, the revolutionary war. It was for this that blood was poured out like water at Concord and Bunker Hill, at Bennington and Saratoga, at Red Bank, and Trenton, and York-town. And when they asserted this principle, they asserted it of humanity, without excluding from it any portion of the race. This is abundantly shewn by the writers of that time, who were also actors in the war of independence. To omit the mention of all the men at the North, it is sufficient to call to your recollection the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and, in fact, all the fathers of the Republic, whose opinions were of sufficient importance to reach to the present day.

"The sentiments of these men were fully exemplified by the Act of 1787. Slavery existed in several of the States. It was acknowledged to be at variance with the sentiments of the whole people, and in violation of the principle asserted in the Declaration of Independence. That it might be for ever restricted within its then limits, and thus be more easily extinguished, all the territory then possessed by the Confederation was declared to be for ever free.

"When the Constitution was adopted, the object for which it was formed was explicitly stated: it was 'to establish justice,' 'and secure the blessings of liberty.' It is the recognition of this principle, as the great object of our Union, that gave this nation consideration among men. This we have always, it has been said even obtrusively, claimed for ourselves. It is in this respect that we have held ourselves up in contrast with Governments in which the rights of man as man were trampled under foot. It is this principle which has made the stars and stripes the dawning star of liberty to the civilized world. Abolish this, and there is nothing more to distinguish us from those despotic oligarchies in which a few declare themselves free, while they hold millions under them in bondage.

"Now, I affirm that this proposed measure is in the gravest sense revolutionary, far more so than if it enacted that the office of President should be abolished, and its place supplied by an hereditary monarchy. This latter might be done, and yet the great object for which the Government was established be maintained; but here the great object for which the Government was formed is not changed, but reversed. The particular manner in which the agents of a Government are to be related to each other and to the people, is of far less consequence than the principle by which all their action is to be directed.

"An insurance company is formed to protect buildings from loss by fire. It establishes its laws and elects its officers. But if its object be reversed, and it devotes itself to setting buildings on fire, it were vain to tell me that they elected

their President in the same manner, or that the clerks and the President were not permitted to interfere with the duties of each other. Nor, were I an original member of such a company, could I, by any cry of union, be persuaded to be a partner to their transactions. I should say, the object being changed, the association is dissolved, and I will be a partaker in none of your villany. Now, I cannot but consider this measure as of precisely this character. We united to form a Government on the principle of the Declaration of Independence and the preamble of the Constitution, namely, to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty; to illustrate to the world the truth that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This Bill reverses this principle, and makes this Government declare that men are not endowed with these rights, and that our object is not to establish justice or secure the blessings of liberty, but to extend slavery over our whole domain, and transmit it to our children as their heritage for ever. The force of such a revolution is to dissolve the Government itself; for when the essential element of a compact is reversed, every contracting party is released from his obligations in respect to it. I therefore protest against this Bill as revolutionary, and giving just cause for a dissolution of the Union.

"Thirdly, As a citizen of a free State I protest against the passage of this Bill.

"This seems to me only one of a series of measures, of which the obvious intention is to render the whole legislation of this country subservient to the interests of the slaveholding States, by securing, at all hazards, a majority in the Senate.

"These measures it is painful to specify. I pretend not to enumerate them all, but I will mention only a few of the most important.

"The purchase of Louisiana, though not made for this object, gave the first bias in this direction. It was made without constitutional authority, and furnishes an illustration of the mischief resulting from the violation of a principle for the sake of an immediate advantage. Then came the Missouri Compromise. Here, for the sake of peace and the preservation of the Union, as it was said, the essential principle in which the Government was founded was held in abeyance, and this territory, acquired from France, was divided, a part being conceded to slavery, and the rest irrevocably devoted to liberty. It has always been said, that even this concession was procured by corruption. 'We wanted,' said John Randolph, 'sixteen doughfaces, and we got them: we could have got sixteen more had we wanted them.' Then came the admission of Texas. This was done, not only without constitutional authority, but, as I think, in opposition to constitutional enactment. By this act an immense tract prepared for slavery was admitted to the Union. The lamented Dr. Channing, than whom a truer friend to the Union never lived, declared, in his Letters on 'The Duty of the Free States,' that if ever this were done, the Northern States were bound at once to separate themselves from the Confederacy. Next came the Compromise of 1850. In this instance the free

States were grossly insulted, and nothing could have carried the measure but the influence of a great statesman, who, by his conduct in this case, has left a stain on his reputation which even his former brilliant services can never erase. A short time before, Florida had applied for admission to the Union, with a Constitution riveting slavery upon her to the latest time. When a question was made about receiving a State with slavery so irrevocably interwoven into its Constitution, it was indignantly replied, that with this matter Congress had nothing to do; and that the Union would be dissolved if the slave character of the Constitution of a State was made an objection to its reception. The next State which presented itself was California, with a free Constitution. The reception of this State gave rise to an angry debate of six months, and she was admitted at last by a compromise. The remarkable terms of the compromise were—that California should be admitted into the Union, and, on the other hand, that four new slave States should be formed out of Texas; that a more stringent and reckless law should oblige the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves, and, on the other hand, that the slave-trade, which on the high seas is piracy, should not be carried on in the district of Columbia.

"Then came the measure which we are now considering. The territory covered by this Bill is, in part, the same as was, by the Missouri Compromise, solemnly consecrated to freedom. It was so considered by Southern men. The measure was carried by Southern votes. It was considered, that in yielding to slavery the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. the North made a great concession for the sake of union. It is now proposed to nullify this solemn compact, and devote to slavery a territory out of which some fifteen or twenty new States may eventually be formed. When these States are organized and added to those formed out of Texas, the character of the Senate is irrevocably fixed. The legislation of the nation is for ever Southern; and Southern legislation is always subservient to the peculiar institution of the South.

"When this has been done, this country, at home, will present a singular spectacle. The slaveholders in the United States are said not to exceed 300,000—call them half a million. We have then half a million of men governing, in fact, thirty or forty millions. An institution unknown to the Constitution will be seen annulling and subverting the Constitution itself—an institution by which labour is rendered degrading and despicable, legislating for men who respect themselves the more for earning their own bread. How long a Union of such a character can continue, may be easily foreseen. The question ceases to be, whether black men are for ever to be slaves, but whether the sons of the Puritans are to become slaves themselves.

"Nor is this all. This change in the principle underlying the Constitution changes our relations to the whole civilized world. The great question which is henceforth to agitate the nation is the question of human rights. It has been the glory of this country thus far to stand forth everywhere in defence of human liberty. It is the position which we have taken on this

question that has given us our influence among nations, and taught down-trodden humanity everywhere to look up to us for succour. But establish slavery, not as the exception, but the rule—make slavery the law of the land, the pivot on which legislation turns—and we must by necessity ally ourselves with despotism. We expose ourselves to contempt, even now, by swaggering about human liberty, while a pious and benevolent lady is at this moment immured in a dungeon in Richmond for no other crime than that of teaching children to read. What will it be when such an act of oppression is sanctioned by the whole country?

"I value the Union as much as any man. I would cheerfully sacrifice to it every thing but truth and justice and liberty. When I must surrender these as the price of the Union, the Union becomes at once a thing which I abhor. To form a union for the sake of perpetuating oppression, is to make myself an oppressor. This I cannot be, for I love liberty as much for my neighbour as for myself. To sacrifice my liberty for the sake of union is impossible. God made me free, and I cannot be in bondage to any man. These I believe to be the sentiments of the free States, and therefore it is, as a friend of the Union, that I protest against this Bill.

"But there is another feature in this Bill which deserves to be considered. The consequence of its passage must be the destruction of the Indian tribes within the territory which it proposes to establish. These poor red men had already begun to cultivate land, and were advancing in civilization and Christianity, when, in defiance of a hundred treaties, they were savagely torn up by the roots and transplanted to their present location, and in the removal one-third of their whole number perished. Every guarantee that could bind a moral agent was given them, that they should remain unmolested in their present residence for ever. They are now rapidly improving their condition. They have schools admirably conducted; churches of Christ under the care of almost every Protestant denomination; they are introducing manufactures; and, in fact, will lose nothing by comparison with the whites in their vicinity. Shall these Christian men and women be again driven away? Shall the most solemn treaties ever ratified by the Senate of the United States be again violated? Shall an act of cruelty, unparalleled in the history of civilized man, be perpetrated, because the victims are weak and their skins are red? Has no man any rights unless his skin is white, or has a just God given permission to white men to defraud and enslave and murder their fellow-man with impunity?

"Lastly, I protest against the passage of this Bill as a Christian.

"It is my firm belief, Mr. President—the belief on which I rest my hope of salvation, that the Son of God assumed our nature and died for our sins, that we might escape the condemnation deserved by our transgressions. I believe that he died for the redemption of our whole race—for the ignorant and down-trodden African, as much as for his haughty Anglo-Saxon oppressor. While on earth, he chose the lot of a poor man, and of an oppressed man; thus shewing us that

it was this class which shared his deepest sympathies. He came 'to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.' He himself died by the hand of oppression, and he has taught us that the poor and the oppressed are his representatives always remaining, and that we must manifest our love to him by charity to them. 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the *least* of these, ye have done it unto me.' 'Take heed,' said he, 'that ye offend not one of these little ones.' Taking Christ, then, for my example, and striving to imbibe his spirit, can I do otherwise than take to my bosom every oppressed and down-trodden child of humanity? Jesus Christ, my Master, is not ashamed to call them brethren, and can I have any partnership in an attempt to trample them under foot? The Union itself becomes to me an accursed thing, if I must first steep it in the tears and blood of those for whom Christ died.

"But more than this. Hundreds of thousands of these black and red men, whose dearest rights are sacrificed by this Bill, are, in the strictest sense, our Christian brethren. Some are Episcopalians, some Presbyterians, but by far the larger part are Baptists and Methodists. They sit down with us at the same table of the Lord; they are, equally with us, members of his body; they share with us the same gift of his Holy Spirit, and hope with us to be ever with the Lord. And can Christian men join hands with the oppressors of their brethren? Can we allow it to be declared in our name, as American Christians, that throughout this vast region our Christian brethren shall be delivered over to brute violence, and that it shall be made a crime to teach them to read the Word of their Saviour and ours? Can we do this, and hope to be forgiven?

"And here let me appeal to Christians at the South. I have conversed with many of them on this subject. They have confessed slavery to be wrong, and they have mourned over its blighting influence on religion and morals. They have told me, and I believe them, that it is their daily prayer that this curse may be removed; that they would cheerfully make any sacrifice for its removal, but that at present they see no way of escape from it. But could my voice reach them, I would say, Brethren, can you, as disciples of Christ, aid in extending and perpetuating what you know to be wrong? Can you pray God to remove slavery from our country, while you are seeking to fasten it upon the country for ever?

"Could I address Southern statesmen, I would address to them a similar appeal. I have conversed with many of them, men of whom any country might be proud. They have told me that slavery was the curse of the Southern States; that, utterly indefensible in principle, in practice it wrought unmixed evil in every relation of life, civil, social, and domestic. I would say to them, can you, as lovers of your country, extend over this vast territory an institution which you in private allow to be an unmeasured evil—an evil already so gigantic that you are utterly unable to cope with it? Nay, more: are you willing, in order to extend and perpetuate this wrong, to overturn the foundations of the Constitution, and violate your solemnly plighted faith? Can

you expect that after this we can look upon you as brethren? If you will trample on the essential principles of the Constitution, and annul a contract which you declared should be binding for ever, in order to attain uncontrolled power over the free States, how may we expect that power to be exerted after it has been attained? 'If such things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry!'

"Once more. Could I hope that my words would reach the ear of the President of the United States, with the respect due to the chief magistrate of my country, I would address him somewhat in this wise: 'It has pleased Divine Providence, Sir, to place you in the most responsible situation now held by any man on earth. It rests with you to decide whether this vast territory, comprising, it may be, twenty independent States, shall become the abode of happy freemen or of down-trodden slaves; whether man shall be recognised as a being formed in the image of God, or, degraded to a chattel, he shall be sold in the shambles like the beasts that perish; whether in the conflict between freedom and despotism, for which the civilized world is preparing, the mighty influences of this great Republic shall be thrown in favour of the oppressor or the oppressed. You have the right to arrest this measure, as a grave departure from the principles of the Constitution, and a violation of solemnly pledged national faith. Let me, then, entreat you to look beyond the mists of passion that surround you, and gaze for a moment on that eternal justice which is the habitation of the throne of the Most High. Decide this question in such a manner as will be most pleasing to that great Being, the elements of whose character are spotless holiness and infinite love. Can you as a patriot array your country in opposition to every attribute of the eternal God? Remember, also, that your life will have a page in this world's history. An impartial posterity will judge you by your actions, and will assign you a place with good men or with bad, with the benefactors or the enemies of your race. And more than all, you must soon appear before a tribunal where you can claim no precedence whatever over the meanest slave that the sun shines upon. The millions whose moral character has been affected for weal or for woe by your act, will meet you there face to face, in presence of the universe of God. It is my earnest prayer that you may, by divine grace, be enabled to decide this question in view of these solemn realities, so that at that day you may review this transaction with joy, and not with grief, and that the plaudit may await you, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'

"Fellow-citizens, I rejoice that this meeting has been held. Come what will, it will ever be to us an unspeakable satisfaction, that to the utmost of our power we have washed our hands of this iniquity. Let us cease not to beseech the God of our fathers to defeat the counsels of misguided men, and, if the worst shall come, that he will grant to the free States the wisdom, temper, patriotism, and union, which may be needed in this grave emergency."

ANTI-SLAVERY PRIZE ESSAY.

THE Leeds Anti-Slavery Association has been inspired with the happy idea of offering a Prize for the production of an Essay on the Abolition of Slavery. Circulars have already been issued calling attention to the proposition, and a subscription has been opened to raise the fund out of which the Prize is to be paid. We append the notice with which we have been favoured, and may add that the published list of subscriptions then received amounted to 241*l.* 5*s.*

"LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

"TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM,—An idea is entertained by many friends of the slave, that much good will result from the offer of a Prize for the most approved Essay "*On the sinfulness of slavery, the best mode of terminating it, and the benefits that would result therefrom.*" The subject was considered at a recent meeting of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, and steps are being taken to raise a fund, to make an offer of 200 guineas for such Essay, and 100 guineas for the second best.

"In addition to what may be elicited by such a performance, the offer of a Prize for its production will be the means of awakening dormant energies; of turning the attention of a large number of persons to the subject, who have not yet examined into it, or considered it—as in the case of Thomas Clarkson annexed—as well as of bringing the minds of those who have studied it to look still more closely into all its bearings. Sufficient length of time will be allowed for the production of Essays, that American as well as European talent and energy may be elicited.

"The friends of the slave are desired to forward their contributions without delay to

"WILSON ARMISTEAD,

"President of the Leeds Anti-Slavery-Association, and Treasurer for the Prize Fund, *pro tem.*

"Leeds, 4th mo. 7th, 1854."

We append the "case" referred to in the circular. The narrative is deeply interesting, and shews the extraordinary result of a Prize Essay in awakening the mind of Thomas Clarkson, and in turning his whole energies into the anti-slavery field. It has been taken from an admirably written little volume, entitled, "*Thomas Clarkson, a Monograph,*" by James Elmes.

"It was in 1785 that Dr. Peckard was raised to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge. That benevolent and patriotic divine took the first opportunity that presented itself of exciting the attention of the public to the crimes he had himself denounced from the pulpit. This he effected through the instrumen-

tality of a University prize, offered to the young and ardent minds of the undergraduates, for the best Latin dissertation on the following subject: '*Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare?*'—'*Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?*'

"Thomas Clarkson was at this time senior wrangler in the University. In the previous year he had gained a prize for the best Latin dissertation. That he might retain his former reputation, he felt himself called upon again to prepare for the conflict, and thus to obtain for himself a still higher degree of scholastic fame. In studying the subject proposed, the young aspirant properly conceived that the proposition, though couched in general terms, pointed indirectly at the African slave-trade, which had begun to occupy a share of public attention, but which he lamented his entire ignorance of, and that only a few weeks were allowed for the composition of the essay. He commenced, however, with determination, and made the best use of his time. He gathered information from every source he could think of, and armed himself with authorities on the subject. But no man, he pathetically says, can imagine the severe trials which the composition of his essay subjected him to. He had expected to find much pleasure in collecting his materials, in arranging and in constructing his *œdificula* to freedom. He anticipated gratification from the invention of his proposed arguments, from the arrangement of his facts, from the skill to be displayed in the proper connections, from the proofs he should give by induction of the unlawfulness of making persons slaves against their will, and from the laudable aspiration, so natural in a youthful heart, of being engaged in an innocent contest for literary honours for his *alma mater*.

"But all these anticipations of delight were damped by the horrible and astounding facts that presented themselves continually to his view. It was a continued succession of perpetual woe and misery, and nought but gloomy scenes of mental agony and bodily anguish were before him from early morn to dusky night. By day he was wretched; at night he could take but little rest, sometimes not closing his weary eyes for very grief. Chains, whips, fetters, branding-irons, collars as if for wild beasts, blood, gashes, sobbings, convulsions, shrieks, as described in the terrific narratives he had consulted, appeared, like frightful realities, in his dreams of the night and mental visions of the day.

"At length it became less an object of ambition, as a literary contest for academic honours, than the production of a work that might be of use to the suffering Africans, and a call upon his country to shake off 'the accursed thing,' which is twice cursed, cursing both the persecutor and the persecuted; for

'Heav'n, whose darling attribute we find,
Is boundless grace, and mercy to mankind,
Abhors the cruel.'
Dryden.

"With this additional object perpetually in his mind, he regularly, after having read the harrowing accounts in Benezet's faithful pages, slept with a light in his chamber, that he might rise from his couch and note down such thoughts as arose in his mind during the still and solemn

hours of night. This practice arose from a fixed determination of putting forth his utmost strength, not merely for University honours, but for the honour of universal human nature; and that no auxiliary, however small, should be lost to the argumentative portion of his thesis.

"Having, at length, finished his painful task, he transmitted his dissertation to the Vice-Chancellor, and, shortly afterwards, found himself honoured, as in the previous year, by the award of the first prize. Thus was the first spark elicited in Clarkson's mind, which kindled a fire in the whole Christian part of the English nation, and excited the people throughout the length and breadth of the British isles in a generous endeavour to alleviate the sufferings and redress the wrongs of their African brethren; and thus was the quiet undergraduate of Cambridge instantaneously converted, as Bernard Barton records it, from a youthful aspirant for academic bays into

'The champion of an injured race,
Among the great and good.'

"As it was the custom of the University of Cambridge for the author of these laureated dissertations to read them in the senate-house before the assembled University shortly after the adjudication of the honours, Thomas Clarkson was recalled to Cambridge for that purpose. He returned to his college, and performed his academic duty; but on his journey to London, which he performed on horseback, the subject of his recent lucubrations, which had so painfully occupied his mind by night and day, when, in his desire to excel, he followed the precept of the Roman lyrist, '*Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ*,' so commonly engrossed his thoughts, and preyed with such frightful energy upon his mind, that he could think of nothing else. He became, as he himself records in his narrative, at times very seriously affected whilst upon the road. He occasionally stopped his horse, dismounted, and proceeded slowly and thoughtfully on foot, frequently endeavouring to persuade himself that the contents of the dissertation could not, by any possibility, be true. The more, however, that he reflected upon the barbarous facts which he found recorded with such testimonies to their truthfulness in the authorities he had quoted, the more he believed their frightful statements to be true. Approaching the village of Wade's Mill, in Hertfordshire, he sat down in a disconsolate mood upon the grass by the road-side, and held his horse by the bridle. Whilst seated upon this grassy spot, which is as deserving of commemoration as Whittington's stone on Highgate Hill, the happy thought flashed into his mind, that if the horrifying contents of his academic exercitation were true, the time had certainly arrived when some person should come forward and put an end to such demoniacal atrocities.

"In this state of mental perturbation, the young *alumnus laureatus* reached his home more sad than even had he lost the prize. This overwhelming impression, from which such great results have flowed, occurred in the summer of 1785. In the autumn of that year the incipient champion of the abolition of the traffic in human

flesh and blood, body and soul, unable to shake off his melancholy feelings, walked frequently in the woods contiguous to his home, that he might contemplate the all-engrossing subject in silence and in solitude, and find relief for his agitated feelings. In these umbrageous solitudes, communing in spirit with himself, the question still recurred to his mind, 'Can these things be true?' Still the answer followed as instantaneously as the thunder succeeds the lightning—'They are—they must be: the testimony is too powerful for doubt.' The same results always followed these solitary conferences, and Clarkson became increasingly impressed with the necessity of some one interfering to put an end to the bloody traffic. This he ultimately resolved to do himself. He felt fully convinced that there had never been any cause undertaken by any man, in any country or in any age, so great and so important to religion and humanity, as that upon which he was meditating: that there never had been one in which more cruelty was inflicted, or more misery endured, or which cried more loudly to heaven and earth for redress.

"Here, then, was the grand result of a University Prize Essay. Though the youthful student could not extinguish his desire for worldly interests and honours all at once, the sense of duty and the holiness of the cause he had espoused crept closer to his heart, and he never relinquished it, but dedicated his whole life to the sacred cause of freedom. The offer of a University prize is only extended to a very limited number of competitors. When a similar offer is made, without restriction, open to all who choose to enter the lists, how many, under Providence, may it be the means of awakening to a sense of the iniquities of the slave system, and of its unparalleled atrocities; and hence, of the imperative duty of labouring for its extinction!"

Miscellanea.

GETTING ON TOO FAST.—A pious old slave had a wicked master. This master had much confidence, however, in the slave's piety. He believed he was a Christian. Sometimes the master would be serious and thoughtful about religion. One day he came to the old slave, with the New Testament in his hand, and asked if he could explain a passage to him. The slave was willing to try, and asked what it was.

"It is here in Romans," said the master.

"Have you done all it tells you to do in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John?" inquired the slave, seriously fixing his eyes upon his master's.

"No, I haven't," said he.

"Then you're going on too fast—too fast, master. Go back to the beginning of the book. Do all it tells you, till you get to Romans, and you will understand it easy enough then; for the good book says, 'If any man will do my will, he will know the doctrine.'"

If any of our readers ever heard anybody arguing about a hard text in Romans, or somewhere else, and worrying to know what it means, just tell them this story about "getting on too fast."—*Juvenile Instructor.*

THE COLONIZATION LAW OF VIRGINIA.—It is stated in the recent Message of the Governor of

Virginia, that in the three years during which the law of 1850 was in operation, to aid in the removal of coloured persons to Liberia, only 419 free blacks and slaves were removed from the State, at a cost to the Treasury of 5410 dollars. Under the present law, which was passed 6th April last, 240 coloured persons have been sent to Liberia from Virginia, at a cost to the Treasury of 5805 dollars; being at the rate of 480 per annum—sufficient, as is supposed, to prevent any increase of the free coloured population. But the Governor asks, "Suppose any increase of numbers is prevented, when and how shall we get rid of these 55,000? Shall we and our posterity always endure the existing evil? I trust not: we should not; and I respectfully urge the adoption of more efficient measures for their removal, leaving the selection of the mode to the united wisdom [villany] of the General Assembly."

A HOME THRUST.—During the contest in the American Senate on the night of the passage of the Nebraska Bill, a eulogium upon slavery was given by Mr. Badger, of North Carolina. Referring to the affection which existed between master and slave, he mentioned his old "mammy," the negro woman who had nursed him, and complained that if slavery should be excluded from Nebraska, he could not carry this old negro woman with him if he went there. To this Mr. Wade, of Ohio, replied, that he knew nothing to prevent the Senator from taking his "mammy" with him to Nebraska, except that he *couldn't sell her when he got there.* Mr. Badger, with all his readiness at repartee, was quite nonplused at this reply, and quietly subsided into his seat.

LIBERATED SLAVES.—The *Cincinnati Times* says: "We noticed a company of eleven coloured persons pass our office late last evening, and their peculiar appearance induced us to make some inquiries in regard to them. They are the property of M. M. and F. T. White, of the firm of White, Wells, and Co., wholesale grocers in Pearl-street. These gentlemen inherited them, with an estate on the eastern coast of North Carolina; and though they were offered 10,000 dollars in cash for them, they magnanimously determined to give them their liberty. The negroes seemed to be in most lively spirits, and were on their way to the counties of Rush and Henry, in Indiana, where they will settle as agriculturists. The conduct of the Messrs. White, in giving these people their freedom, and in settling them comfortably in a free State, is certainly commendable, and we trust they will reap their reward in increased prosperity in business, and the best success in mercantile affairs."

INSTRUCTING NEGROES.—We learn from the *Norfolk Beacon*, that Miss Rosa Douglass, daughter of the lady who was recently found guilty of teaching negroes to read and write, having returned from New York, appeared before the Mayor last Tuesday, and was held to bail in the sum of 500 dollars for her appearance at the next term of the Superior Court. Let that be written with a pen of iron, and placed in some conspicuous niche in the temple of American history, for the admiration of some future generation of the aristocracy of the "Old Dominion."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter,

THURSDAY, JUNE 1st, 1854.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was held on Monday evening, the 22d ult., in Exeter Hall; The Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftesbury in the Chair. The meeting was most numerous and respectably attended.

Amongst the persons present on the platform we noticed the following: Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart.; the Revds. Richard Burgess, Thomas Binney, C. L. Corkran, J. C. Davie, Thomas Hands, Dr. Hewlett, Griffith Lukes, J. W. Massie, D.D., Dr. Magoon of New York, Wm. Owen, J. Spong, J. T. Fisher, S. R. Ward, J. B. Walker, of Ohio (U. S.); and Dr. Hills, New York; Messrs. George Wm. Alexander, Joseph Sturge, Joseph Cooper, Saml. Sturge, H. Sterry, R. N. Fowler, S. Horman-Fisher, T. Hodgkin, M.D., John Allen, Frederick Tuckett, George Thompson, Ralph Carr, Wilson Burgess, Joseph Soul, J. T. Tyler, Alexander Macdonald, of New York, Parker Pillsbury, of Massachusetts, C. Hovey, Esq., of Boston, Mass., Professor Allen, late of New York; F. R. Surtees, Esq., of H.M. Slave-trade Suppression Commission, Cape of Good Hope; Stephen Bourne, Esq.; Mr. W. W. Brown; William and Ellen Craft, Frances Grace Russell, &c. &c.

The Noble CHAIRMAN, who was labouring under indisposition, said he hoped he should be allowed to take the chair without making a speech. His desire to do so arose from absolute inability, and not from unwillingness, for he felt as intensely as ever the whole force of the anti-slavery question.

Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow, the Secretary, then presented orally, an abstract of the Report.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

"In presenting this, their Fifteenth Annual Report, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* deem it unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the importance of the great work in which it is their privilege to be engaged. That in the middle of the nineteenth century; in presence of a rapidly-advancing civilization; a wider spread intelligence, and a largely-extended diffusion of Christian knowledge, upwards of 8,000,000 of human beings, the descendants of the African race, should be held as chattels, and an infamous traffic in their persons prosecuted by professing Christian Governments, are facts which unhappily demonstrate the extent to which the system of Slavery yet obtains, and the magnitude of the evil it is the object of the Society to remove. On a review, however, of the progress which the cause has made, since the

presentation of their last Report, the Committee have every reason to feel encouraged to pursue their object with unremitting activity.

"In the United States, a recent most daring attempt of the slave-power to extend and consolidate the influence of Slavery, by bringing under it the territory of Nebraska, covering an area of 485,000 square miles, has received a signal check; and it is gratifying to find a very large number of the ministers of religion decidedly opposed to the measure. Your Committee anticipate the best results from this manifestation of an improved opinion on the part of the leading religious denominations of the Northern States of the Union. Another indication of the prevalent anti-slavery spirit is to be found in the obstacles encountered by the Executive in carrying out the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law; and the Committee would cite, in further illustration of the marked improvement the public sentiment has undergone, with respect to the Abolition movement, the respectful attention now paid in both Houses of the Federal Legislature to the leaders of the Abolition party, and the greater latitude accorded in those Assemblies to the discussion of questions bearing on the institution of Slavery; the proposed introduction into the slave codes of Georgia and Alabama of a provision—not, however, yet carried out—to prevent the separation from their mothers, of slave children under a certain age, and to exempt from sale, slaves taken in execution; and the Committee would in the last place refer to the very remarkable articles which have quite recently appeared in one of the leading newspapers of Virginia, openly advocating 'the taking of the earliest means of getting rid for Slavery' in that State.

"In Brazil the progress of anti-slavery sentiment has been not less marked, as is evidenced by the cessation of the foreign Slave-trade, and the almost entire extinction of the inter-provincial traffic, which has been circumscribed to such an extent as to render its prosecution extremely difficult. It is also said, that in the province of the Rio Grande de Sul, even Slavery itself is almost unknown, and that in other provinces, many of the plantations are being cultivated by free-labour. To these a large immigration of Welsh and German labourers has taken place, and the Presidents of the various provinces state in their reports, that where free-labour is being employed, it yields a profit of 13 per cent. against one of only 8 per cent. where slaves perform similar work. In connection with this movement, the Committee would refer, with satisfaction, to the worthy example set by the Emperor, in the establishment of a German colony in the vicinity of his palace of Petropolis, the success

of which is stated to have been most striking.

"With regard to Cuba, in November last, ninety-three of the most influential planters, merchants, and others, inhabiting the district of Matanzas, memorialized the Captain-General, praying that he would take measures for the suppression of the traffic in Africans. Whilst, however, the Committee think it right to refer to this circumstance, and also to the fact that the new Captain-General appears to be adopting vigorous means to put down slave-trading, experience has rendered them extremely doubtful of the sincerity either of the local or of the home authorities. The evidence taken before the Slave-trade Treaties' Committee last year fully corroborates the assertions which have been from time to time made by this Society, namely; that the slave-trade to Cuba is carried on to a most alarming extent, with the shameful connivance of the authorities, and in spite of the repeated assurances of the Cabinet of Madrid that the treaties with this country should be fulfilled. Your Committee quite coincide in the opinion expressed in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee referred to, that history does not record a more decided breach of national honour than is exhibited by Spain at this time by her prosecution of this infamous and inhuman traffic. The most authentic returns your Committee have been able to procure, shew that during the first five months of the year 1853, and the first fortnight in June, there were landed 9186 slaves. From that date until the end of November, it is known that more cargoes were set on shore, but no account of the numbers composing them has appeared. In December, however, 2188 were landed and carried off to the plantations, making, as far as can be ascertained, a total of 11,374. At least four thousand more may safely be presumed to have been introduced during the intervening period, namely, from the 15th of June to the end of November, which would swell the total to more than 15,000. To this number must be added the ordinary estimate of one-third, landed without the knowledge of the authorities, making in all at least 20,000 human beings added to the slave-population of Cuba during the past year. Up to the latest dates in the present year, several more cargoes have been landed, respecting which authentic particulars have not reached your Committee. It is said that not fewer than 22,000 slaves perished of cholera on the Cuban plantations in 1853, and almost every mail brings intelligence of an increased demand for this species of labour. As one means of supplying the alleged deficiency of slaves, certain decrees have recently been promulgated prescribing the registration of slaves and regulating the introduction of immigrants from Yucatan, Africa,

and especially from China. A close examination of these decrees has satisfied the Committee that the proposed measures will place in imminent jeopardy the liberty of the immigrants. It is based upon the assumption that there is an absolute necessity for the existence of slavery in Cuba, and therefore that there is also a necessity for the introduction of Slaves. As, however, the prosecution of the slave-trade is admitted to be in contravention of treaties and in violation of the national honour, it is proposed to import Chinese and others, who are to be subjected to the same regulations as the slave-population. For instance, it is decreed that until they attain the age of eighteen, the children of the immigrants shall follow the condition of their mother, a regulation manifestly contemplating an indefinite period of servitude on the part of the parent. There are also other regulations equally objectionable. Your Committee would, however, quote as the expression of their own sentiments on this point, the opinion tendered by Her Majesty's late Commissary Judge at the Havana, James Kennedy, Esq., who, in one of his last reports to Government, states that 'so long as Slavery is allowed by law, he cannot imagine, from the character of the people, that they will look to any other means of obtaining labour voluntarily. Whether obtained from Yucatan, from Africa, or from China, they must have it as slave-labour.' Holding this opinion, the correctness of which has been confirmed in so remarkable a manner by the recent decrees, intended to accomplish by indirect means, the object which is now directly attained by the prosecution of the slave-trade, your Committee have no faith in the projected measures. As, however, the new traffic in labour is carried on by well-known British merchants, the Committee hope that, on proper representation being made, Her Majesty's Government may be enabled to discourage the investment of British capital in an enterprise so nefarious as that of supplying foreign slave-holders with Chinese immigrants, which is only another mode of feeding the slave-market of Cuba with a new description of slaves. With respect to the registration of slaves in Cuba, the Committee do not desire to depreciate its importance, and are ready to admit, that were the regulation carried out, it would doubtless prove a material obstacle to further importations of slaves. They are, however, persuaded, that so long as some of the highest personages in Spain have a direct pecuniary interest in the continuance of the traffic, home influence will always be sufficiently powerful to place obstacles in the way of any Captain-General of Cuba who may give indication of a firm purpose to suppress slave-trading. In connection with Cuba, the Committee have to record the pro-

mulgation in January last of a decree, commanding the immediate liberation of that class of the slave population known as the *Emancipados*. On this act of tardy justice your Committee would remark, that under the treaties of 1817 with Spain every negro subsequently introduced into Cuba acquired an unconditional right to freedom; that since that date, not fewer than 500,000 slaves, at the very lowest estimate, have been imported; and that the entire number of *Emancipados* captured by English cruisers, and by the subaltern authorities of the island, is returned as amounting in thirty-seven years to only 11,263, of whom 5957 are reported as dead, run away, in rebellion, &c., leaving 5286. Of these, 3188 have been liberated and sent to the British Colonies, and the remainder, namely, 2098, are returned as being at liberty, but hired out as labourers because they wished to remain in the island.

"Your Committee regret to say that the slave-trade is still being prosecuted by the Portuguese. Since the closing of the Brazilian markets, those of Cuba have been supplied to a considerable extent by Portuguese slave-traders. Vessels notoriously intended for this infamous traffic are fitted out in the ports of Lisbon and Oporto, whence they repair to the coast of Africa. Their chief resort is the east coast of that continent, along which the Portuguese sovereignty extends for 1500 miles. Here the numerous inlets and creeks afford them every natural facility for shipping their cargoes, whilst the open connivance of the local authorities enables them to accomplish this object with comparative impunity. Your Committee are, therefore, justified in asserting of Portugal as of Spain, that the existence of the slave-trade at the present time is entirely owing to the absence of a cordial desire on the part of both these Governments to suppress it.

"Your Committee are gratified to record that the Anti-Slavery cause is progressing in the Netherlands. The Government has resolved to effect Emancipation, and a royal Commission is now deliberating upon the best mode of accomplishing it. Two most important discussions have taken place in the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament, and numerous petitions have been addressed to the Legislature and to the King, praying for the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the Netherlands' East and West-India possessions. One of the most distinguished members of the royal Commission referred to is M. Groen Van Printserer, President of the *Dutch Anti-Slavery Society*, and one of the corresponding members of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. The number of slaves in the Dutch colonies is about 53,000, namely, 39,000 in Surinam,

10,400 in Curaçoa and other West-India Islands, and the remaining 3600 in the East-India colonies. The emancipation of the latter does not appear to present any great difficulty, the number of slaves being small; but in respect of the slave population of the Dutch West-India possessions, the question is less easy of solution, the principle of compensation to the slave-owners having been admitted, and there appearing to be no source whence the compensation-fund is to be derived.

"In 1851 your Committee recorded the presentation to the Dutch Legislature of a Bill for the better government of the Dutch colonial possessions. This Bill embraced a clause which decreed the liberation of all children born of slave-mothers, after the passing of the contemplated measure. Your Committee regret that this Bill should not have been adopted by the Legislature, and their regret is greatly increased by their knowledge of the fact that the difficulties of the Dutch Government were augmented by the claims for compensation preferred by certain British subjects, owners of plantations and slaves in Surinam. These parties, not having the right of petitioning the Dutch Chambers, deputed their agents, the Messrs. Wittering Brothers of Amsterdam, to memorialize Her Majesty's Government through the Hon. Sir R. Abercrombie at the Hague. They alleged that should the projected measure become law, they should be ruined unless an indemnification was granted to them as the owners of slave-women, in consideration of the children whom such slave-women might eventually bear; and on these grounds they besought Her Majesty's Government to claim compensation on their behalf. Instead of offering any comment on this indecent speculation on the part of these British subjects, upon the prospective increase of their female slaves, your Committee prefer to present to you the spirited reply of the Right Honorable the Earl of Malmesbury, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which was alike worthy of an English nobleman, and of the Minister of that nation which set the example of Emancipation. His Lordship instructed Sir R. Abercrombie to this effect:

'You will say, first, that Her Majesty's Government has no sympathy with British subjects who own slaves in foreign countries; and secondly, that they think the emancipation of slaves is so much more important to the welfare of the human race than the interests of any British subjects who may consider they are entitled to compensation for losses sustained in consequence of the emancipation of slaves in foreign countries, that far from throwing any obstacle in the way of any other Government which may entertain an intention of emancipating slaves,

they will not claim compensation for losses sustained by British subjects through the enactment of laws by any foreign country, ameliorating the condition of slaves.

'All that Her Majesty's Government contend for, on behalf of British slave-owners in foreign countries, is that, in case of emancipation, they shall be placed on the same footing as slave-owners who are subjects or citizens of the emancipating country.'

"Apart altogether from the lamentable fact that British subjects should be found holding slaves in a foreign colony, the evil is seriously aggravated in the present instance by the circumstance that one of these very parties held an important office under the late Sir Robert Peel's administration, and is at the present time a member of Her Majesty's Government.*

"Your Committee submit, that this fact cannot but tend greatly to weaken the moral effect of any remonstrance the Government may present to Foreign Cabinets on the subject of the slave-trade, and is calculated to cast discredit on the sincerity of the efforts that are being made to effect the overthrow of slavery.

"Your Committee have much pleasure in announcing that the Republic of Venezuela decreed on the 10th of March last, the immediate emancipation of the slaves in that country, compensation to the owners being given by the Government. Though the number does not exceed 16,500, the testimony thus borne to the great principle involved of the right of every man to the freedom he inherited from his Creator, is of the very first importance, and ought to produce a profound impression upon that mightier Republic which now numbers more than 3,300,000 slaves. Your Committee would direct the attention of that Republic to the remarkable language uttered by the President of Venezuela, when exhorting the Chamber of Representatives not to abandon the consideration of the measures to be taken for the speedy abolition of slavery. He said:

'Venezuela has sworn to the sacred dogma of equality. Venezuela glories in herself as having been the first to recognise the great principle of popular sovereignty, which is the origin and source of all authority. Venezuela ought not, therefore, to appear

any longer in the eyes of the world with the stain of slavery upon her.'

"Your Committee deplore to learn that a considerable traffic in slaves is carried on between Constantinople and the ports of the Levant. The returns of Her Majesty's Consul at Tripoli, for the past year, have not yet been published, but during the year 1852, upwards of 2000 slaves—chiefly females—were conveyed from Tripoli and Bengazi alone, to the metropolis of the Turkish empire. Many of these were transported on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamers, and the Austrian flag is stated to cover the general traffic. Remonstrances on the subject have been addressed by Sir Stratford Canning to Mons. de Klezl, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, but information in your Committee's possession leads them to conclude with but little effect. It does appear to them, however, that means might easily be taken to prevent the prosecution of this immoral traffic under the Austrian flag, and also that, considering the peculiar nature of our present relations with Turkey, Her Majesty's Government would have little difficulty in putting down the Levantine slave-trade.

"The Committee would here call attention to the reaction of American slavery upon British subjects, as exhibited in the present state of the laws of South Carolina and Georgia relating to coloured seamen. Under them, vessels entering the ports of these States, even when forced by stress of weather, are visited by the local authorities, and coloured persons found on board are forthwith conveyed to the common gaol, where they are detained until the vessel is about to sail. Exorbitant charges are levied for their maintenance during the period of their incarceration and heavy fees for the trouble of arresting and conveying them to prison, which either they or the owners must pay. In default thereof, they can be publicly sold to defray the expenses thus laid to their account. In South Carolina especially, this regulation is carried out with unmitigated severity. In 1851, thirty-seven British subjects, and in 1852, not less than forty-two, came under its operation, and it is notorious that numbers have at various times been thus seized and sold into slavery. The case of John Glasgow, recorded in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July last—affords a painful illustration of the consequences of this barbarous regulation. Your Committee feel that a high tribute of praise is due to Mr. Matthew, late Consul at Charleston, not only for his humane exertions in individual instances, to save his fellow-subjects from the fearful fate that awaited them, but for his strenuous and persevering efforts to test the validity of the iniquitous enactment under which they are liable to be oppressed. During the last and the present Sessions of Parliament, the sub-

* The parties are, Sir John Young, Bart., formerly Secretary to the Treasury under Sir Robert Peel, and now Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is the owner of Plantation Presburg, in Surinam. The others, known, are, the Western Bank of Scotland, owners of Plantations Kent; and Mrs. M. F. Parry, Bath, and Mrs. A. Ferrier of Glasgow, owners of Plantations Alkmaar and Fredericksdorp, Surinam. (*Slave-trade Papers 1853. Class B., Pp. 317 and 318.*)

ject has been brought under the notice of the Legislature, and your Committee have also called the attention of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the cruel hardships it is the means of inflicting upon persons innocent of all crime save that of possessing a coloured skin, and also to its injurious effects upon the interests of the proprietors of the small coasting-craft that trade between the ports of South Carolina, the Bahamas, and the other West-India Islands. Through Mr. Consul Matthews' energetic interference, the whole question had been referred by Appeal to the United States' Supreme Court at Washington, on two special cases, but it appears that under advice from the law-officers of the Crown, and on an intimation from the local Government, of an intention to modify the obnoxious enactment, the Appeal was withdrawn, and thus the question itself remains in abeyance, the abuses being, meanwhile, unmitigated.

"Your Committee desire to refrain from expressing any very decided opinion upon the course which the Government has deemed it advisable to observe, the more especially as the official correspondence has not been published. They would, however, remark, that whilst they believe this course to have been dictated by an earnest desire to solve the difficulty without a political embarrassment, they have strong grounds for expressing it as their opinion that the law under notice is enforced less on account of any danger to be apprehended from the persons who are subjected to its operation, than to enable a few needy officials to derive a revenue from the fees extorted under its provisions.* The leading journal of Charleston, long an advo-

cate of the law, now describes it as 'offensive to foreigners, unwise, and impolitic,' and suggests the substitution of a milder regulation, similar to that in force in Georgia and other southern ports. It has also been asserted by parties competent to judge, that had the Appeal on the cases of Manuel Pereira and Reuben Roberts been prosecuted to an issue, the result would in all probability have been in favour of justice, humanity, and freedom, so notorious are the abuses committed under shadow of the law, and so difficult would it have been found to defend it.

"In their last Annual Report your Committee referred to the Address then recently issued by the Society, to Christians of all denominations, in the United Kingdom, inviting their active co-operation for the abolition of Slavery. It was suggested that they should address to their corresponding denominations in the United States a solemn and Christian remonstrance against the sin of slave-holding, entreating them to bear an open and uncompromising testimony against it, and to use their influence to effect the removal of this enormous evil.

"To that Address your Committee have received many highly encouraging responses. They are now about re-issuing it in the form of a tract, coupled with a second Address, distributed this year, respectfully entreating those on whom devolve the making of arrangements for the Anniversaries of the various religious and benevolent Associations of this metropolis, to consider how far it may be consistent or even right to give countenance to individuals, who, whilst professing in this country anti-slavery sentiments in the abstract, are not known to advocate Abolition in the United States, either at public meetings or in the pulpit. The ground taken by your Committee is, that the moral support which is given to the system of Slavery, by the countenance afforded to public men who are either opposed or indifferent to its abolition, materially strengthens the position of those who uphold that great iniquity, or who abstain from bearing a testimony against it, and operates as one of the most serious impediments to the improvement of public opinion in America on this grave question.

"Your Committee rejoice to find that the public sentiment is so far with them in this course of action, and that the effect produced by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the *Key*, is not likely to be transient.

"During the past year your Committee have anxiously sought to give a practical direction to this strong current of popular anti-slavery sentiment, and public meetings of a most encouraging kind have been held in various parts of the country, and some new Auxiliaries have been established. At these meetings resolutions have been unanimously passed strongly recommending your Committee to

* According to a Report prepared in September 1852 for the Attorney-General of South Carolina, by the warden of the gaol, but which was not submitted because it shewed too plainly the profits derived from the starving of men in that gaol, under the protection of the enactment in question, it appears that for the calendar month ending September the 12th, sixty-three coloured seamen were incarcerated on the charge of "contrary to law:" that is, for having come into Charleston, as free men, on board of various vessels. The very lowest sum, including a day's board, that each man was mulcted in, would be nine dollars; so that on the total number incarcerated, the regular fees would amount to five-hundred and sixty-seven dollars. The profit on the provisions is set down at one thousand four hundred and sixty-three dollars: total, two thousand and thirty dollars, or above £420 sterling, reckoning the dollar at 4s. 2d. English. The whole of this amount is the exclusive perquisite of the Sheriff, and fully accounts for the severity with which the law is enforced. A correspondent writes: "Take away the fees, the mercantile community will not murmur, and the official gentry will neither amuse nor trouble themselves about enforcing the law to imprison free men."

pursue the specific course of action submitted for approval on these occasions, and embracing two material points, namely:

"1st. The eliciting from the various religious denominations of Great Britain a moral testimony against the enormous iniquity of slave-holding, with a view to create a reaction in favour of Abolition amongst the corresponding denominations in the United States.

"2dly. The calling of public attention, and especially that of commercial men, to the great importance of encouraging in India, in Africa, and particularly in our West-India colonies, the cultivation of those staples on the profitable production of which the entire system of slavery depends for its material support.

"Your Committee are convinced that, whilst Emancipation is not less a moral question than heretofore, resting on the immutable principles of eternal truth and justice, its economic aspects are daily assuming an increasing importance, and that the great problem of the relative advantages of free-labour over slave-labour is to be solved by the practical application of those great commercial principles which have been productive of so many advantages to this country. The British West-India colonies alone are capable of producing in superabundance the great staples, namely, sugar and cotton, of which so large a proportion is now furnished for home-consumption by the slave-labour of Brazil, Cuba, and the southern States of the American Union; and your Committee are of opinion that, to enable our colonies to compete with the latter, nothing is wanting but that British energy and enterprise should be directed to the development of the resources of those fertile but neglected lands, and that those who have the present management of West-India estates should turn their serious attention to the introduction and employment of the improved modes of agriculture, and of manufacturing their staple products which modern science has pointed out.

"The strong anti-slavery feeling prevailing throughout the country impressed your Committee with the conviction that the time had arrived for taking steps to carry out the Resolution entrusted to them at the close of the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1843, empowering them to call a similar gathering, wherever, in their judgment, the cause could be promoted by it. They therefore issued a Circular, addressed to the friends of the cause, with a view to solicit an expression of opinion from them on the subject: and in consequence of the replies they received, advantage was taken of the sitting of the Peace Conference at Edinburgh, in October last, to hold an Anti-Slavery Conference, at which a Resolution was unanimously passed, encour-

aging your Committee to call in London, at some convenient time in the present year, a general Conference of the anti-slavery friends of Great Britain, with a view to consider what united action should be adopted to promote the abolition of slavery. Your Committee have not been able yet to determine the precise time when it would be desirable to hold the meeting, but the prevalent opinion appears to be that the most suitable time would be in the month of October.

"Your Committee would not omit, in conclusion, to refer to the active exertions which have been made during the past year, by the various Anti-slavery Associations, auxiliary to the Parent Society, or independent of it, to keep public sentiment alive to the enormity of the evil of Slavery. The individual operations of these will be found detailed in the Appendix; but the Committee think it right to give prominence to the exertions of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, which has gratuitously distributed several thousands of anti-slavery tracts, and has offered a prize of £200 for the best, and £100 for the second best Essay 'On the Best and Speediest Mode of Abolishing Negro Slavery.'

"Finally, your Committee, convinced of the righteousness of the cause which they are advocating, and deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility which rests upon them, would attribute the measure of success which has hitherto attended their exertions, to the gracious providence of the Great Father of all mankind; and would invoke His blessing upon their future efforts, until the great sin of slavery shall no longer disfigure our common civilization, nor bring discredit upon our common Christianity."

Mr. Chamerovzow next gave an abstract of the financial statement which shewed that the receipts for the year had amounted to 766*l.*, and the expenditure to 860*l.*; and that the balance due to the Treasurer on the 30th April 1853 was 228*l.*, and on the 30th April 1854, 321*l.*

The list of the Committee and of the officers for the ensuing year was then submitted, and a list of the Corresponding Members of the Society.

Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart., in moving the adoption of the Report, said they were then met to give to the world a moral protest against Slavery wherever it might exist. They were met to protest against that fallacious and wicked doctrine, that one man had a right to possess the body of another; and he hoped that their voice would be heard on the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States, in Cuba, in the Brazils, imploring the people with all loving-kindness, yet with all firmness, to put down that iniquitous system which had too long existed in that part of the world. He was glad to observe by the Report that some progress had been made in the anti-

slavery cause. In America the feeling was gaining ground that the great national stain should be wiped away, that the people who boasted of their freedom should no longer hold in cruel subjection and bondage three millions of their fellow-creatures, who were as much entitled to freedom as their oppressors. He felt, perhaps, a peculiar interest in the question of Slavery in the United States, not only because his honoured father felt an interest in it, but also because another dear and honoured connection (Mr. William Forster) laid down his life in the endeavour to put an end to Slavery in America. He, with other friends, went to America, in order to give his protest against the system, and to bring to the recollection of the governors of the United States their responsibilities in connection with so important a question; and, as was known, he died in the midst of his work. He (Sir E. N. Buxton) hoped that his labours would not be in vain, and that the present generation might live to see the fruit of his simple and prayerful endeavours.

The Rev. RICHARD BURGESS said he had no right to the prominent part which had been assigned to him in the proceedings. He began to think most seriously, that after all there was some importance in the Exeter-Hall meetings, notwithstanding the slur which certain philosophers had attempted to cast upon them. He believed that they represented for the most part much that was valuable—he had almost said, all that was philanthropic and Christian in the country. He remembered that it was a Meeting in Exeter Hall twenty years ago, followed by a pamphlet written by Mr. Whitley, which touched a chord of exquisite feeling, and the sensation vibrated throughout the heart of the realms of England. This was succeeded by the exertions of George Stephen and Mr. Pringle. The nation was aroused by the meeting and the subsequent efforts, and the Government of the day was made to feel that the time was come when the people of England must be listened to. They all knew what followed—the emancipation of the slaves in the West-India possessions. The result of those endeavours originated at the despised meeting in Exeter Hall. At that time they were honoured with the presence of a man whose name had been mentioned, and whom they were happy to see represented so faithfully in his son. He was then thundering at the gates of the House of Commons, while the voice of the people was heard in the more popular assemblies; and the consequence was, that a fortress more formidable than Cronstadt, more inaccessible than Sweaborg, fell at the indignant voice of the people. They had now almost done with argument upon the question; for no man would dare to stand up and say that the slave had no right to the liberties that belong to the human race—that the sable son of Africa was insensible to those feelings and affections which agitated the breasts of others. The slaveholder, indeed, might still use arguments in favour of Slavery; he might say that the affections of the slave were deadened, and that he had no taste for enjoyment; and he would perpetuate Slavery, the very thing which unfitted the man for the enjoyments of which he spoke. He snatched the infant from the mo-

ther's breast, and the best refuge she had was in oblivion of all the bitter remembrances of the past: then he said that she had no affection. He degraded the human being, brought him down to the level of the brute creation, and then said that he was not fit for social enjoyment and civil and religious liberty. There was no doubt that Slavery had brought many millions of our fellow-creatures to such a state of degradation, that they had no thought of aspiring to any thing beyond the mere objects by which they were surrounded; but they were capable of better things. They had before them an instance, shewing that they were able to receive that instruction which was so much valued by others, and those eternal truths which, while they smoothed the brow of discontent, pointed to the bright star of hope and glory. What was implanted within could be drawn out, and the man could stretch forth his hand and reach the most delicious fruit; his mind would become developed; and the African, like the rest of the human race, would be endowed with intelligence, and walk erect like his fellow-man. How were they to cope with the great evil of Slavery? The only means they intended to employ were peaceable means. He remembered Professor Stowe observing, that whatever they might say in the United States, and however they might affect to despise the well-pronounced opinion of this country, they did really reverence it; and that they hid their heads with shame when the people of this country brought against them just charges, such as the charge relating to traffic in human flesh. There were no less than 3,000,000 slaves in the Brazils: there was, however, a bright spot there, for the number was continually diminishing; so that the children of the present generation might very probably live to see the traffic entirely suppressed. The best course to adopt was to pronounce Slavery a crime against God. They must stick to that, and not lower their standard. They must not make use of secondary arguments, so as to take their stand upon them, but must say, "Before God this is a crime, and you will be answerable for it at the day of judgment." With regard to Cuba, he really could scarcely speak of that island with moderation and forbearance. He confessed he should like to use a little gentle pressure there. He would only use that degree of pressure which friend Phineas used when Tom Loker was climbing up the rock. He made no war upon him and his companions, but, seeing that he was approaching too near, he gave him a gentle shove, saying, "Thee isn't wanted here, friend." He confessed he should like a little of that pressure to be applied to Cuba. He should like a few vessels cruising off the island, so that when a slave-ship advanced they might say to the captain, "Thee isn't wanted here, friend," and, if necessary, give him a shove back, and so send him where he could not easily get up again to do mischief. In their endeavours to suppress Slavery, he thought the people of this country should try to diminish the value of slave-labour. In order to do this they should endeavour to get cotton grown in other countries, so as to compete with those who supplied the greatest quantity of that article to England, that the slave-holder might find, that after all it would be as advan-

tageous and profitable to him to employ his slaves as freemen, as to keep them in their present state of bondage. He had lately been in Liverpool, and was surprised to find how many vessels were trading to Africa in palm-oil; and he was told that the rapidity with which that branch of commerce had increased within a short time was beyond all calculation; so that many persons who would have been taken to Cuba and sold were now employed in the cultivation of that article. Consequently, so far, there was a diminution of slave-dealing; and thus trade in a single article, insignificant as it might seem, might be one great reason why in a few years they would have to say that there were so many thousand slaves less imported and sold in the colonies than in previous years. British Christians should frown upon every slave-holder whenever coming into contact with them. On the other hand, when those Transatlantic brethren came to this country who were with them in their efforts to emancipate the slave, and who were evidently touched as deeply as they were with the great sense of evil which afflicted America, they should then shew that they could in kindness embrace as brethren those engaged in the same cause of humanity, and thus send them back with the assurance, that there were friends in England who fully sympathized with them in their efforts to obtain freedom for the slave. While the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, they might yet be mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. True it was, that the results they anticipated were not always realized; but great improvements, and great moral changes and revolutions, were but slowly effected. It seemed to be a law of Divine Providence, that great and glorious results should always be arrived at by much exertion, and after the lapse of considerable periods. But still the event was sure; and, as had been shewn that night, great and encouraging progress had been made during the past year in reference to the object for which they had met. The heaven was operating upon the masses of American society; and he was convinced that between the Northern States and the Southern there would never be peace until the blot of Slavery was wiped away. The war against Slavery had begun, and it would never cease until even the Americans themselves should understand how gross a crime it was, not only against humanity, and the whole of the civilised world, but against the dictates of that religion which many of them professed implicitly to follow.

The Resolution having been put and adopted, the Secretary announced that he had received letters from Mr. Peto, M.P., the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, M.P., and the Rev. William Kirkus, expressing deep sympathy with the movement, and regret at their inability to attend the meeting.

The Rev. Dr. HEWLETT then moved the second Resolution:

"That this meeting, deeply impressed with the conviction that slave-holding is 'a sin and a crime before God,' therefore considers it to be of the first importance, on occasions like the present, emphatically to assert this as the principle on which the cause of universal emancipation is founded; and to

declare that the system of Slavery, under what form soever it may exist, is not to be defended or extenuated, but is to be uncompromisingly opposed, and its utter extinction sought by the employment for that object of every moral and pacific means."

He said he had been thinking much of those enterprising and philanthropic men—Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, and a host of others—who had laboured so long to wipe the stain of Slavery from the escutcheon of Great Britain and America; and now, by the blessing of God, their glorious object was in the course of accomplishment, and the spirits of those departed philanthropists might be even then looking down upon that assembly, and urging them by all that was sacred in religion and all that was noble in humanity to banish Slavery from the face of the whole earth. The Resolution pointed out the fact, that Slavery was a sin and a crime. If those words had any meaning, they were indeed strongly applicable to the question before them that night. Slavery was a sin and a crime because it was in direct violation of the golden law which the Saviour had himself given:—"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." There were not wanting men in the present day who pleaded in extenuation of this fearful crime, that the slave was not a being belonging to the human species—that he was the link between humanity and the orang-outang. So gross an outrage upon common sense and the dictates of humanity need only to be alluded to in order to obtain for it the reprobation of every truly Christian and civilized individual; but it had been shewn by the men whose names he had mentioned, Thomas Clarkson especially, that the African possessed, and, when opportunity offered, exhibited, all the capabilities the white man ever developed. In that oppressed and down-trodden race there was the tenderness of the mother and the piety of the sister, the devotedness of the husband and the affection of the brother. The being that possessed these attributes was stamped with the character of man, was entitled to perfect freedom, and was responsible for his actions to God, the Father of the whole human race. To interfere with or cripple the freedom of that being was an offence against the prerogative of the Most High, and was keeping the conscience, the intellect, and the soul away from the privilege of communion with the Great Fountain of all life, of all freedom, and of all happiness. It was lamentable, indeed, that, in that country whose insignia was composed of stars and stripes—would that they were stars without spots, and stripes that adhered to the line of rectitude—the first principle of whose constitution announced the right of every man to freedom—that in that country men acted in direct violation of that very principle. And, more lamentable still was it to think, that many of the churches of that country were deeply involved in the crime of Slavery, declaring it to be sanctioned by the law of God, and that those who attempted to destroy it were disturbing the peace of the community, and doing violence to the dictates of Scripture. There had been men upon that platform who maintained these opinions, but who, from the views and sentiments they uttered on other subjects, might have had the right hand of Christian fellowship extend-

ed to them ; but, when their views on the Slavery question became known, it was then that the friends of the slave were justified in putting their hands into their pockets, and refusing to extend them to him who dealt in human bone, and sinew, and blood. The blacks are one day looked upon as Christians, and the next brought as slaves to market ; and so far was this principle carried out, that some churches in America denounced the abolitionists of Slavery as enemies of their country. England was now in a position, he was happy to say, when they could denounce Slavery, though the time was when they could not do so ; they had paid twenty millions, and purchased the freedom of the slave. He called their attention to that part of the Report referring to the letter of the Earl of Malmesbury to their Minister at the Hague. His Lordship's truly noble language was a severe rebuke to those British subjects who disgraced themselves by being owners of slaves in foreign countries. He thought it was important to create a moral influence among the people in the United States, and thus, by the blessing of God, they would wipe the very existence, and even the name of Slavery, off the face of the earth.

The Rev. S. R. WARD, in seconding the Resolution, said that when Slavery came to be considered on British soil, a great practical question presented itself to the English people ; it came in this shape, What is our duty touching this matter of Slavery ? What have Englishmen to do with Slavery ? "Do with it," said the West-Indian proprietor, "you have done enough already, and too much ; you have let our negroes loose upon society, and you have ruined us." Those men might say also, "You gave us twenty millions of pounds sterling by way of compensation to be sure, and we did not deserve a tithe of it." What they did say, however, was, that enough and too much had been done by the English people on behalf of the Slave-population of those islands, and they did not desire that any thing more whatever should be done in that same direction. We must not always look, however, to interested parties for a solution of the question, What have we to do in the matter ? A stern obligation rested upon every man in these realms to do his duty in relation to this subject, no matter whether interested parties approved or disapproved. It was a great practical question, moreover, what have British Christians to do with the matter ? Already something had been done for the development of the resources of the West-Indian Islands, but much more remained to be effected in this direction, so as to meet the slave-holder of America side by side in the British and other European markets, compete with him, and drive him out, not only of the market, but, if possible, out of existence as a slave-holder, and make a decent, honest man of him. It was all very well to say, We will not use slave-grown cotton, sugar, and so forth ; but little would be done by such a course of conduct, unless the same articles were attempted to be successfully cultivated on a large scale in other regions, and by free labour. This might be done, not only by developing the resources of the West Indies to a much larger extent, but also by sustaining the fugitive slaves in Canada. With respect to Spain and her slaves,

the British Government and people might doubtless do much to put an end to the present state of things by a decisive declaration of opinion and feeling on the point at issue. Something had been said by a preceding speaker about the continued adoption of a pacific course in getting rid of the evil : he would say, by all means remove the iniquity so if you can ; but he must confess that, in a question where liberty was concerned, he could not but feel, and that deeply, that there was after all something worse in this world than war. One who knew something about the working of the abominable system, might be allowed to say with Aunt Chloe, that it would be better to have "a clearing-up time," rather than that Slavery should continue for ever and ever. There might be a difference of opinion, however, on this point ; but surely it was quite time for England to say to the Government of Spain, "If you cannot make Cuba keep her Treaties, we can : that's all." But this was not the subject on which he had to speak. It was his duty to allude to a matter which even more intimately concerned Englishmen, and especially the Members of the Legislature,—the treatment of British-born subjects in the United States. By the connivance, if not the actual consent, of the English Government, a most disreputable system had been going on for some thirty years, by which free blacks—the subjects of the British Crown—if they went to America, might be imprisoned, and even sold into perpetual Slavery. It was very easy, of course, to talk of the sins and inconsistencies of our American neighbours ; but when the attention of people was directed to similar evils going on among themselves, that was frequently quite another thing. The fact ought, however, to be known and published throughout the realms of England, that if black seamen, free-born Englishmen, were driven by stress of weather on to the coast of America, or visited that country in the way of ordinary business, they were liable to be taken immediately and put into the felons' prison, and kept there till the ship in which they came was about to sail ; but even then they would not be released until themselves or the captain paid the gaol-fees, which are enormous, six dollars forty-eight cents ; and if they were not paid, these British people were sold in the public shambles. As many as from thirty to forty persons were detained in this manner every year ; and the thing had been going on, he repeated, for the last thirty years, without any decisive attempt being made to put a stop to it. He might refer specially to one circumstance, which spoke for the rest : John Glasgow, a British-born subject, married a wife in Liverpool, Lancashire ; some time afterwards he went out from that port as a seaman in an English ship, and when the vessel arrived at Savannah, he was taken and put in prison, and, not being able to pay the fees demanded, he was sold into perpetual Slavery. There was no mistake about this matter, for John Brown, who was on the platform at the present moment, had worked side by side, in the same gang, with John Glasgow, after he had thus been sold into Slavery, and he had only the other day made the declaration on oath before a magistrate of this city. This was a matter on which he had come forward to speak ; and he called upon the men and women of England to say

whether such an abominable system should be any longer endured? The pretext for it was that, if the free blacks were suffered to go at large among their enslaved brethren, they might disseminate the principles of freedom to the injury of the planters and slave-dealers; but what did this say for the character of the system which it was attempted by such means to perpetuate? Besides, their being thrown into prison with black felons was quite as likely to produce the same effect. The whole thing, therefore, could not be justly regarded as any thing more than a base pretext, in order to serve the vile and selfish designs of the slave-holders. When the matter was brought forward some time ago, and representations were made by the British Government to the Government of the United States upon the subject, the reply was, that the National Government could not interfere, because it was a mere matter of local police, which the State immediately concerned must settle for itself. But this was all a mere sham for the purpose of evading the question. The local States had no power to treat with a foreign Government on any matter whatever; but could any one doubt for a moment, after what had taken place in Austria, and the affair of the Black Warrior, that, if a supposed wrong was done to the people or property of a single State, the General Government would hesitate to take it up and demand redress? As a matter of fact, cases had occurred again and again in which the Federal Government had demanded of the British Government compensation for slaves who escaped on board British vessels; and this was exactly the point in hand, and in which, to the shame of England be it spoken, they had not asked in vain. The attention of the British Government had been again and again directed to the subject, and the whole thing ought long since to have been settled, and would have been if the authorities in this country had not been most culpably negligent of their duty. The question was first raised in 1848, and the answer which the friends of the free negro got was this, that such regulations being known to exist, British subjects ought to avoid their infraction. But the matter had been revived again, and a correspondence had taken place between the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, but nothing had come of it; the negroes were simply turned over to the tender mercies of the slave-holding States. The British Government could go forth to assist the Turks against the Russians, the weak against the strong; the British lion could shew his teeth and his claws on behalf of the Turks; but when the wrongs of the British negro demanded redress, that same lion became a very harmless creature, and suddenly become destitute of every particle of power, and without either tooth or claw. Was it not a disgrace to the British nation, that any of its subjects should be thus treated? The words of the old song were common enough in the mouths of the people,—

“Britons never will be slaves;”

but that seemed to depend very much upon where you catch them. It depended upon their colour. British subjects were being made slaves by the States of America to the num-

ber of from thirty to forty every year, and the Government and the people of England find it quite convenient to allow the practice to go on. Why had there been no active endeavour to abolish the practice? Lest trade should suffer. If any negotiation should be opened, “trade will suffer,” “commerce will be injured;” “we buy a large amount of cotton from the slave-holding States, and, if we make any stir about the enslavement of British negroes, this cotton-trade will suffer!” Aye, indeed, trade will be interrupted! What was the negro made for but to be oppressed and trodden under foot, that trade may go on, and white men make fortunes? Trade must not suffer but the negro may. Lombard Street and the Exchange must experience no interruption to their commerce. John Glasgow, a British subject, may be stolen from a British ship, and be sold into slavery, never to see his wife and children at Liverpool any more, lest there should be any interruption to the sale of cotton. But had not the buyers of cotton, the people of England, a right to a voice in this matter also? Most surely they had a right, and it was their bounden duty to stand up for the liberty of their fellow-citizens. But he contended that trade would not have suffered; the American cotton-grower was far too selfish for that to have been the result of a just demand on the part of the British Government. When rightly looked at, it would appear, he was sorry to believe, that there is quite as much discredit attaching to the British as to the American Government. The Resolution said, that it was immoral to hold slaves; then it must be immoral to make slaves of British subjects, and equally immoral not to protest against the enormity, and seek to destroy it. He did not ask the people of England nor the Government to pity these poor negroes: he was too proud to ask pity either for himself or his persecuted brethren from any man. There were many people much more disposed to pity and weep than to do their duty; but what he did ask was justice—common justice, simple justice, even-handed justice, and that was all. This was the last time which he expected to have the pleasure of addressing a meeting in Exeter Hall; and, while expressing his thankfulness to the noble Chairman, and to the Christian people of England for the kindness and generosity which he had experienced at their hands, he besought them by every holy consideration, and in the name of justice, humanity, and God, to demand that the Government shall see to it, that not another subject of the British Crown be made a slave for no other crime than the colour of his skin.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., desired to say just a few words, in reference to one or two points which had been touched upon by preceding speakers. The Society, on whose responsibility this meeting had been called, bound itself to promote the object it had in view by moral and pacific means. Did he not hold so strongly as he did the principle of the inviolability of human life, still he should consider that Englishmen ought to make their own hands clean of the iniquity, whatever it might be, of what they complained, before they went to war to put it down. Yet how stood the case? At the present time English capital was being used to import Chinese labourers into Cuba, and these

men were actually made slaves to all intents and purposes. He cordially concurred in the manifesto of the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, to the claims made by certain owners of slaves, and plantations in Surinam, except the last paragraph, which says, What Her Majesty's Government contend for, on behalf of British slave-owners in foreign countries is, that, in case of emancipation, they shall be placed on the same footing as slave-owners who are subjects or citizens of the emancipating country. He could not but consider that "British subjects," in such a case, were less entitled to consideration than any other men, and more culpable, because, to a much larger extent, they sinned against light and knowledge. I think that this audience should know who are some of the "British subjects" that continue to hold slaves. (Cries of Name! name! No! no!) Yes, I will name. (Loud cheers.) I have the facts on Parliamentary authority, and, therefore, there is no mistake about the matter. The parties are, Sir John Young, Bart., formerly Secretary to the Treasury under Sir Robert Peel, and now Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is the owner of Plantation Presburg, in Surinam. The others known are, the Western Bank of Scotland, owners of Plantation Kent; and Mrs. M. F. Parry, Bath, and Mrs. A. Ferrier, of Glasgow, owners of Plantations Alkmaar and Fredericksdorp, Surinam. Now, I believe it is contrary to British law for British subjects to hold slaves in any country, and this matter ought, therefore, to be carefully looked into, and the evil to be redressed. With respect to the other point on which some remarks had been made, the question of abstaining from slave-grown articles, he regarded it as of much importance, and could not but consider for himself that it became a duty to refuse to partake of or use articles produced by slave-labour, especially where the same things from the hands of freemen could be readily obtained, such, for example, as sugar and coffee. He was glad that a reference had been made to William Forster, who, although a quiet and unobtrusive man, had done great things in the Anti-slavery cause, and might be regarded as having actually fallen a martyr to it. Thus, one after another of the friends of humanity and of righteousness were called away from works to rewards. He could not help thinking, with some degree of sadness, of the numbers who had departed from their ranks since the meeting of the Society held in the Metropolis twenty years ago; but, on the other hand, he felt constrained to rejoice that other men had been raised up to take their places, and he trusted that this moral war would be carried on until there is not a single slave throughout the world.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. J. B. WALKER, of Mansfield, Ohio, moved the third Resolution:

"That this meeting is of opinion that the extension of the area of Slavery is especially to be guarded against and prevented; and therefore regards the attempt to introduce Slavery into the territory of Nebraska, recently made by the Slave-power in the United States, as one against which the friends of humanity are imperatively called

upon to protest, and to strive to their utmost to defeat. This meeting would further express its cordial sympathy with the Abolitionists of America for their manful opposition to that nefarious design, especially with those who have so ably defended in Congress the great cause of freedom and human progress. And lastly, this meeting would dwell with satisfaction upon the course which a portion of the American clergy, especially that of New England, have observed in boldly opposing this attempted encroachment on the part of the South, and would express the earnest hope that they will henceforward openly range themselves on the side of those who are striving to accomplish the overthrow of the iniquitous institution which has hitherto found some of its most zealous advocates among professing ministers of the Gospel."

The Nebraska question was by no means a fair test of feeling in the United States;—the anti-Nebraska sentiment was popular in the north. The Nebraska Bill appealed rather to the interests than the moral feeling; it raised the question of whether the soil of the United States should go to freemen or to the upholders of Slavery. The voter was reminded that if Slavery were permitted to form the line of demarcation, the slave and free man must work side by side, and he felt that Slavery was as demoralizing to the white as to the coloured man. The feeling against the Bill was by no means peculiar to New England. He might say that it was common to all the ministers and laity west of the Alleghany Mountains, and to every free-soil senator. He hoped that the moral force of these opinions—coming as they did from so large a body—would eventually, not only do away with the Nebraska iniquity, but with slavery itself. The American clergy stood in three positions with regard to slavery. The first would tolerate it; the second would denounce it by the press and pulpit, but did not believe that slave-holders should be excluded from the Christian church; the third believed that a man who held another as a chattel was not a fit member of any Christian church. His sympathy went with the last of the three. It was a matter of deep regret to him that some of the missionary pastors had avowed that they saw no precept in the Bible which should prevent one man from purchasing another man's child. Until this spirit was eradicated from the minds of those who had the guidance of the community, he feared that much could not be done. He looked anxiously forward to the time when this great evil might be removed, and he trusted that the proceedings of that evening would go forth and perhaps do their part towards that end so devoutly to be wished.*

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., seconded the Resolution. Having read a letter expressive of sympathy in the views held by the Anti-Slavery Society, from the Portuguese Ambassador in London, Mr. Alexander expressed the satisfaction which he felt that the present meeting was pre-

* We shall give, *in extenso*, in our next, the speech of the Rev. J. B. Walker, which want of space precludes us from inserting in the present number.—*Ed. A. S. R.*

sided over by one who was peculiarly suited to occupy that position, not merely from the deep interest which he has evinced in the subject of the abolition of Slavery in the United States, but also from the deep interest which he has ever taken in the elevation and improvement of the labouring population of our own country. It was an objection which had frequently been made, and with considerable weight, by the enemies of emancipation on the other side of the water, that the people of England neglected their duty in relation to the poorer classes of their own people; but, at least, the Chairman of this evening had not done so. He regarded it as one of the most cheering signs of the times, that in this country it is the endeavour of benevolent and religious men to perform that duty which for many years had certainly to a great extent been neglected. The physical condition of the poorer classes of the land was being cared for in a variety of ways; and perhaps none of the means put into operation would prove of more value than the attempt to provide better habitations for them; and of this institution Lord Shaftesbury was the honoured founder. Means were also being extensively employed for the education of the people of this land; and everywhere a vast number of instruments were at work for the elevation of all classes, even the most ignorant and depraved. Now, the system of Slavery, on the other hand, was notoriously opposed to all improvement of the people, whether physical or moral. Was it not a fact, that education was prohibited in the Slave States of America? that it was a crime to teach these poor oppressed creatures even to read their Bibles? And while thus opposed to the interests of religion, it was not less opposed to every principle of morality. He could scarcely think with patience of the fact, that a professedly civilized and Christian nation refused to recognise the rite of marriage to some three millions of its people. And if the Christians of England could do nothing else, he most earnestly trusted that they would never cease, so long as it continued, to protest in the most solemn manner against a system so inhuman as theirs. What could be expected to flow from such a system but the most flagrant immorality? He desired, for one, to protest against the nefarious iniquity of the Nebraska and Kansas Bill, by which it was proposed to add an immense tract of country to the territory of Slavery; and he rejoiced, therefore, exceedingly at the stand which had been made against it by the ministers of religion and others of a portion of the United States. Charles Sumner, Gerritt Smith, and some others, were worthy of standing side by side with Wilberforce, Buxton, and that host of men, who, in other days, in England, were the leaders in this great question. He had read, moreover, with deep interest, the manifesto of Dr. Wayland. It might be but little that the people of England could do in the matter, but they could at least protest against the infamy to a Christian nation of continuing such a system; and could cheer on those who are engaged in the work of its destruction. This great enterprise had happily been accomplished in our own land, and every Christian heart must sincerely hope that it would not long remain unaccomplished in the United States of America.

Professor ALLEN, of New York, in supporting the Resolution, said, with its general spirit he, of course, agreed, but he was not so sure that he did not desire the passing of that American Bill. It was their bounden duty to protest against the wrong of extending Slavery—nevertheless, they could hardly do less than desire that every impediment might be removed in the great battle which was going on in America between Slavery and Freedom, and thus shew who were ranged on the different sides of the question. He was no Free-soiler and he did not believe in compromises. The men who were parties to that of 1776, and a little later, committed a great error in philosophy when they for a moment consented to compromise with sin. They might have known that the results of such a compromise would have been disastrous,—and disastrous they had been. He desired the battle of Slavery to be fought, not upon the free-soil platform, which was a very narrow one, though he honoured the men who stood upon that platform, knowing, as he did, their convictions. But he wished to see Slavery swept away entirely, and freedom brought out into the sunlight of Heaven. The founders of the Federal Government, he thought, had made a mistake, but they had acted logically in the matter, and with very commendable sagacity. Nevertheless, they did not see with a prophetic eye. Soon after the compromise of the Federal Government, a slave-holding spirit began to grow up in their midst, which afterwards tended to their overthrow. They desired to prove that negroes were only fit for slaves—in other words, they desired to prove that negroes were blind, and they, therefore, thought they were logically right in putting out their eyes. They desired to prove that negroes could not work, and, therefore, believed they were logically right in cutting off their legs. They desired to prove that negroes were incapable of attaining to intellectual and moral grandeur, and, therefore, they went to work logically to exclude them from wealth, intelligence, and religion. This was commendatory in them. It was good Anglo-Saxon logic. He had never seen better. But all these prophecies had failed them. The coloured people of the Northern States presented themselves to the world at this very moment in an attitude which claimed its respect and admiration. Who had not heard of the Rochester Convention held about a year ago in that city? That was a Convention of coloured men, and was one of the most remarkable gatherings ever held on the Western Continent. The very enemies of the negro said, that there were men composing that Convention who would have adorned any Congress that had been gathered since the days of John Adams. That Convention was headed by Frederick Douglass,—a man who, though born a slave, nevertheless possessed intellectual capabilities and oratorical genius, which fitted him to stand among princes. Mr. Douglass astonished the people of the United States by the wisdom displayed, and the facts elicited, with regard to the actual condition of the coloured free people. It was found that the free coloured people of the Northern States owned fifteen millions of dollars' worth of property; and, when it was remembered that this property was obtained by the exercise

of the most menial offices, a complete demonstration was furnished that they were men of intellect and power, and, therefore, by no means to be despised. It appeared, therefore, that the slave-holding Legislatures were most logical in the course which they adopted to keep these men in a state of bondage. There were only five free States in which the coloured population were, according to law, permitted to vote for the return of representatives to the Federal Government; and even in two out of these five States a number of absurd and preposterous regulations prevented, in many cases, the lawful exercise of this right. It was actually demanded that a free negro should be in possession of 250 dollars' worth of real property before he was allowed to exercise the privilege of voting. He was himself a native of the State of Virginia, and came from that very town of Norfolk where the lady to whom reference had been made was imprisoned for teaching a number of people to read the Holy Scriptures. But though a native, he was never a slave; and yet, notwithstanding the fact that he was freeborn, the school in which for some time he had been placed was actually broken up and dispersed, in consequence of the unconquerable aversion which the upholders of Slavery entertained to the education of men with skins a little darker than their own. No longer ago than January 30, 1853, he had actually been assaulted by an armed mob of 600 men, some of whom even professed to be Christians, on the Sabbath evening, and driven out of the village of Fulton, where he lived, simply because he had the audacity to get married to a white woman, the daughter of a Christian minister. Nevertheless, they met in the city of New York; and, taking the ship—the "Daniel Webster"—they came to this country, where they had lived ever since. He had enjoyed the unspeakable privilege of treading roughshod upon their iniquitous law, which decreed that no man of colour should be entitled to vote unless he had 250 dollars' worth of real estate. On one occasion he went to the polling-booth during the last Presidential election. He went there in good faith, but with the full determination to get his voting-tickets received, and to utter his protest against their villanous law if they should be rejected. The gentleman who took the tickets said, "I suppose, Mr. Allen, you have got 250 dollars' worth of real estate property?" "No, Sir, I have nothing like that amount." "You have that amount in personal property?" "Yes, I have." "And then some person looked," said Mr. Allen "at the interrogator, and I said, I demand my vote this day, not because I have or have not 250 dollars' worth of real estate, but on the simple ground of my manhood. You bring no charge against me, and I have a right to vote equally with any other of my fellow-citizens." "It is all very well, I admit," said the collector, "but there is the law." "Well," said I, "if you will make it appear that that means me, I am satisfied." The very direct manner in which I put the question confused the man, and of course he was unable to make it appear as he wished, and turned off the matter by saying, "It's all right; we will take your vote, Sir." The State Government, moreover, have emulated the General Government in its

iniquity in this respect, and so general has the feeling against liberty to the black man become, that 39,000 out of 40,000 pulpits in the land have declared that Slavery is not spoken against in the Bible. Some of them, indeed, do not say that the Bible absolutely sanctions Slavery; but, at the same time, they do all they can to aid the oppressor. The Church, in America, does, almost universally, exert its influence with the slaveholders against the education and elevation of the blacks; but, in spite of all these things, they stand before you, growing and expanding, and are becoming, through the imbibing of holy and just principles, an intellectual and an enlightened people, who will be, as they are now becoming, the admiration and the respect of the world. Is this inferiority? But the signs of the times are much better than they were, and that which gives me most courage is such meetings as these. Whatever may be said, Slavery is destined to fall, and such gatherings as these tend to bring it into disrepute.

The Resolution was then adopted.

The Rev. THOMAS HANDS, from the West Indies, then moved, and Mr. BALLANTYNE, member of the Educational Board, Dominica, seconded the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that a highly important means of promoting the overthrow of Slavery consists in the development of the natural resources of free tropical countries, which are abundantly capable of producing more than a sufficient supply of those raw staples, of which so large a proportion is at present furnished by slave-labour; and in furtherance of this object, would call upon the friends of the cause to carry out their principles, by rejecting, as far as is practicable, the use of those commodities which are raised by the labour of the slave. And this meeting, believing that the prosperity of our emancipated colonies would deprive the foreign slaveholder of any reasons against emancipation which he may derive from the embarrassments of our planters, would earnestly recommend the proprietors of West-India estates to avail themselves of the improved modes of agriculture and manufacture modern science has pointed out, instead of looking to immigrant labour or to aid from the Mother Country. And, further, that they would omit no means of promoting, by educational and other means, the moral and social elevation of the people, as the mainspring of industry and of permanent prosperity in all countries."

R. N. FOWLER, Esq., moved, and the Rev. WILLIAM OWEN seconded, in few but cordial words:—

"That the grateful thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, for the efficient manner in which His Lordship has conducted the proceedings of the meeting."

His Lordship having returned thanks, the proceedings terminated at ten o'clock.

SUGAR SLAVERY AND EMAN-
CIPATION.

No. V.

WE have received from Mr. Thomas Kerr, late of Antigua, and now of Barbados, a communication to which we readily give insertion.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Esq.,
*Secretary of the British and Foreign
Anti-Slavery Society.*

"Joes River, Barbados,
"27th April 1854.

"SIR, In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for March last there are some quotations made from a work which I wrote, on the subject of sugar production. In alluding to me, as an authority on the question of the quantity of sugar contained in the cane, it is stated that I prosecuted extensive experiments in the island of Antigua; and as this is an assumption which is not founded upon fact, and which is calculated to give undue weight to my evidence, I shall feel obliged by your correcting the statement. I was manager of a sugar estate for some time in Antigua, but while in that island I had no opportunities of 'prosecuting extensive experiments.' The facts advanced in my work are quotations from the best authorities on the subject, verified as far as my own experience extended. It is impossible to extract more than 80 per cent. of juice from canes containing 90 per cent., by simple mechanical pressure; while it appears to be inferred, from the quotation which is made, that the canes ought to yield 90 per cent. of juice. The improved mills which are now introduced, do extract nearly 50 per cent. more juice than the old ones in common use; and the planters of this island (Barbados), are quite alive to the importance of this subject, as is evidenced by the number of improved mills which have recently been erected here, whilst many more are being imported. The very great increase in the quantity of sugar produced in this island is a proof of the efforts which have been made by many of the planters to remedy the defects which were so apparent. There is a very decided improvement, both in the agriculture and in the crushing mills of this island, since I have known it; and I am convinced that much more would have been done to improve the apparatus for sugar manufacture, if it was not for the poverty of many of the proprietors of the sugar estates.

"You will oblige me by having this letter published, for the purpose of removing the misconception that may arise from the construction which has been put on the extracts I have referred to, and also to shew that efforts are being made to effect improvements in Colonial sugar manufacture, at least in this island.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"THOMAS KERR."

It will be observed that Mr. Kerr's communication fully bears out the substantial correctness of one of the facts on which we have so strongly dwelt, namely; that not more than fifty parts of juice out of the ninety which the cane contains, are obtained,

on the average, by the mills in common use, in the West Indies. We never intended, however, to convey, as Mr. Kerr appears to think, the impression that these old mills are sufficiently powerful to express the forty parts of juice left in the megass, and burnt under the coppers; and the article in the April number of the *Reporter*, which had probably not reached Barbados when our correspondent wrote to us, will no doubt prove to him that the contrary inference, which he comments upon as erroneous, is not one for which we are in the remotest degree responsible.

We are glad to perceive that the planters of Barbados are alive to the importance of extracting from the cane the largest quantity of juice possible, and we recommend the fact to the attention of Messrs. T. Daniel & Co., who have informed the Duke of Newcastle that "it is a question whether the pressure of the cane is not already carried too far in a pecuniary sense, injuring the quality of the product, and increasing the difficulties and cost of manufacture without a corresponding addition to the return." Perhaps some of those planters who are getting by the new mills "fifty per cent. more juice than by the old ones in common use," will give the public the result of their experience.

We are pleased to find that the West-India Journals are giving prominence to the articles we have already published. The *West-Indian* of April 25th ult., taking its cue from *Mincing Lane*, has adopted a line of argument suggested by Messrs. T. Daniel & Co.'s letter to the Duke of Newcastle, the fallacy of which we have already exposed. The writer has, however, added a statement or two of his own, which we subjoin:

Under the first head, the authority of Mr. Kerr is quoted, to prove, that ordinarily in the West Indies, only 50 per cent. of juice is expressed from the canes; and as the cane contains 90 per cent., there is in this way a loss of 40 per cent. Under the second and third heads, Dr. Shier is quoted, to prove that 20 per cent. more is lost in the defecation and skimmings; and 17 per cent. more in drainage on the voyage to England and in the docks,—making together 77 per cent. out of the 90. But this is not all, for it has been ascertained "from other sources," that there is a loss of 20 per cent. on the rum, and 8 per cent. on the molasses; which is a loss of 105 per cent. out of 90 per cent. of cane-juice. Now, if this is not proving too much, we know not what it is. The planter has 90 per cent. of juice to get out of the cane, and convert into sugar, rum, and molasses, and he is stated to lose, in the manufacture, 15 per cent. more than he had to begin with. It is a losing process, indeed; but how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that we have already shipped about 20,000 hogsheads from this little island, and expect to ship as many more in the next six months? If there was any truth in the statements, there ought not to be a pound of sugar made in Barbados,—it ought all to vanish in the manufacture.

It is a worn-out and an unworthy device to misrepresent the statements of an opponent, when his facts cannot be controverted; but to it the editor of the *West Indian* has resorted. Not only is the statement he attributes to us absurd, but it is also false.

Our reply is very simple. We alleged that forty parts of juice out of ninety are left in the megass and burnt: that *out of the fifty parts obtained*, twenty per cent. or ten parts, are lost for sugar-making purposes, by the process of skimming; that *twenty parts out of the remaining forty*, are converted into molasses, of which a very large proportion is entirely lost; and that, in consequence, *out of the original ninety parts of juice*, that the cane contains, not *more than twenty-five parts* are made available as sugar to the planter, the bulk of the remainder being lost, wasted and misappropriated. The loss on sugar, molasses, and rum, was comprised in the above detail, and we would strongly advise the writer of the article in the *West Indian* to consult some elementary treatise on arithmetic before he commits himself to any more calculations.

We have, however, no particular desire to continue a controversy which has accomplished its object, namely; the calling of public attention to the waste of produce on West-India Estates, as one of the main causes of their alleged unprofitableness. The truths we have told may be unpalatable, because, "*Ce n'est que la vérité qui blesse.*"* Our earnest desire is to see the West Indies prosper. We have no wish to see one process adopted more than another, for there may be good in all. What we say to the West-India body is,—“Make the most of what you get, by whatever means you choose; but do not waste nearly three-fourths of your actual produce, and then cry out for labour and protection, and attribute your pecuniary embarrassments to Emancipation.”

We will, in conclusion, append an extract from the *St. Lucia Palladium* of the 1st of April ult., which will serve to shew the interest that has been created by the publication of our articles on this important subject.

“As every thing relative to the West Indies must be of interest to West Indians, we have transferred to our columns a very lengthy article from the two last numbers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, respecting the staple product of these islands. The planters will find themselves unsparingly censured, and may not be well pleased with the manner in which the severe strictures contained in the first part are penned; nevertheless, it will well repay the reading, if for nothing else than to become acquainted with the opinions of many in England respecting the West-India

Colonies, as well as to be cognizant of the startling facts brought to light by the mass of evidence, and the patient research exhibited in almost every line. Valuable it must be, as it plainly points out the cause of the unprosperous state of the emancipated colonies, and the reason why British planters cannot compete with foreign sugar-growers; and doubly valuable it will be, when the pledge given in the March number will be redeemed in that for the month of April.

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WE are again unavoidably compelled to postpone the publication of our periodical list of Donations and Subscriptions. It shall, however, appear in our next.

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* It is only the truth that wounds.

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London: CLARKE, BEETON, AND Co, 148, Fleet Street.